681 The payment of atonement came not only
[576] after a violation of the law but also after a violation of
[689] manners and customs such as sitting down without regard to custom,[67] looking into a house through "God's window,"[68] speaking the name of the dead,[69] talking about the secrets of other people, looking at unclean things,[70] or disturbing a sacred place.[71] *Ashinpe* was therefore not a mere fine but a gift used to beg pardon of God for in the very presenting of the gift was implicit an apology to God. When disputes were settled among persons there was no question about the distribu-
[622] tion of *Ashinpe*. But if the chief had acted as judge
[692] he collected the *Ashinpe* and distributed it to the injured party. This is described in Sakai Tadaiku's *Hokkaidō Junkōki* [Record of a Tour of Hokkaidō] as follows: "When a person did wrong, he was reprimanded and made to atone after which he was set free. The disposition of this atonement was the duty of the *Otona*." in the *HDHS* it is said that "the chief after passing judgment would collect from the guilty party wealth in accordance to the offense and give it to the injured party." The *Tsugaru Kibun* notes: "When an offense has been committed through error, the chief of the village would examine the case and impose a fine on the party to blame and present this to the other party." It is evident that those in power could abuse this custom and acquire wealth by challenging others to a *Charanke* over a trifle.

681 Another important method of settling disputes was
●578 a duel with clubs. This was the *Ukaru*, *U* meaning
627 "mutually" and *Karu* meaning "to beat," the whole word literally being taken as to beat each other with clubs. The clubs were called *Shuto*. This custom was called *Shutouchi* in Japan and the term became corrupted to *Suzuuchi*, *Sutsuuchi*, and *Tsuchiuchi*. *Shutouchi* along with *Tsugunai* was an important method of settling disputes. The *Waterishima Hikki* notes: "When a matter was arbitrated between two individuals *Tsugunai* was offered and if it was refused the one was beaten on the hip by the other with a club until he bled and apologized. This is called *Ukaru*." The *Hokkai Zuihitsu* states: "This was used when one so

[67] *Tōkai Yawa*.

[68] Chiri Yukie trans., *Ainu Shinyō Shū* (Ainu psalms), 116–117, fn. ['God's window' was opposite the entrance and back of the altar in an Ainu house. Sacred and covered with a screen, it was a sacrilege to peep through this window through which the bear was carried into the huntsman's house.]

[69] "Without knowing that his parents and family were dead I asked him how they were whereupon tears came flowing from his eyes and greatly enraged he demanded atonement." *Watarishima Hikki*.

[70] "It is said to be the law of this country that *Tsugunai* had to be paid if one saw the vagina." *Tōi Shurau* (Observations of Eastern Ezo), vol. 2 of *Ichisatsusaiwa* (Conversations about the land of the barbarians).

[71] "They did not do any thing rude facing the sea. Therefore, if an Ezo found another urinating toward the sea he would immediately demand *Tsugunai*." *Ibid.* "A person urinated upon the grave of an Ezo's father. The Ezo was furious but the argument was settled by presenting *Tsugunai*." *Tōyū Ki*.

resented another as to desire to take his life. An arbitrator would witness and, by agreement, each would beat the others, in order to dispell the resentment. Criminals are also said to have been beaten in this fashion." In criminal cases only the guilty, of course, were clubbed but in those cases when no decision could be reached as to which of the two parties was guilty they were allowed to beat each other. Thus, *Charanke* or disputation often resulted in *Ukaru* or mutual beating. *Ezo Shima Ki* describes it as follows: "When an argument developed into a fight there would be an agreement on a *Sutsuuchi*." That this mutual clubbing can be considered, as in *Ashinpe*, an expiation of crime, is seen in the *Watarishima Hikki* but most significantly in the *Igen Zokuwa* wherein it is noted: "When parties to an argument reach a peaceful settlement, the party in the wrong offers to the other *Ashinpe*, or by *Ukaru* both parties beat each other after which they resume their friendship. This was the custom of the Ezo." The *Ezo Shima Kikan* [The Wonders of Ezo] reinforces this observation: "In those cases where *Ukaru* is wanted instead of wealth, a meeting of the families of the two parties is held and the person held to commit the offense is beaten first three times with a mallet after which he beats the other party. If, after the beating, both parties are uninjured it is considered then that there was no need for atonement."

Ukaru was then not merely a punishment. This can be seen partly by the fact that both parties to the dispute beat each other and, often, came out unharmed. It can also be seen from the *Ezo Sangyō Zusetsu* [Description of the Industries of Ezo] that *Ukaru* was not only used to settle disputes but was also used in cases of unnatural death, the death of parents, epidemics and in weather rites, all of which indicates that *Ukaru* was also a method for driving off evil spirits. Since *Ukaru* settled disputes and since there were always disputes it was important for the men to be in constant training for *Ukaru*. This training took the form of sports as seen in detail in the *Ezo Dan Hikki* and the *Tōyū Zakki* and is the same ceremony which was performed, in conjunction with dances, for the Japanese inspectors. The definition of *Ukaru* given by Batchelor in his *Ainu-English-Japanese Dictionary* "a game of beating each other with clubs" was meant in this latter sense and a weakening of its use in the regulation of Ainu society is evident in that *Ukaru*, originally sacred, became a game. It should also be noted that the removal of hair and beard was far more than a symbolic punishment, for the Ainu had especial respect for their hair and believed that a part of their life force lay in it, and in addition the removal of it was no doubt a torturous thing. The settlements of disputes and the punishments inflicted on violators so far mentioned were rarely used within the village as intra-village peace was well maintained. The necessity for their use arose in intervillage quarrels where the social regulatory

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to set to on them at once. These nuts are used for food by this people, and very sweet they are to a hungry man. One of the favourite ways of preparing them is to boil them, then take off their jackets and pound the fruit into a paste, then reboil and mix it well up with millet or rice. It was considered a great delicacy to mix the pounded chestnuts with the eggs of salmon and boil them together. But this concoction adheres so tenaciously to the teeth and gums that one cannot get along without a good, strong tooth-pick. Being fond of chestnuts, I ate up my little present with gusto. But after that, I never again accepted peeled, boiled chestnuts, for I saw afterwards that the women and children took the jackets off them with their teeth! I preferred mine with their coats on, for this appeared to me to be the more hygienic way.

While on this journey it was necessary to cross a deep river in a ferry barge. The horse I was riding was a very stubborn one and utterly refused to enter it. The master of the barge told me to remount and jump him in, which I did without accident. But, alas, when about half way across, the brute jumped over the side, carrying me and all my baggage with him. My horse, baggage, and I went well under water at first, but at last reached the other side safely. While my clothes were drying, I asked the Japanese landlady at whose inn we had immediately put up, to get me something to eat. Some time later, a nice little bird was brought me to feast upon, which I took to be a woodcock. Having eaten it up with relish, I was told by the boy who waited on me that it was not a woodcock, as I supposed, but a little chicken which got sick and had died the day before!

As we were passing through a certain village, a woman rushed out of her house and asked me to step in and flog her husband! "But why?" I asked. "What has he been doing now?" Said she, "He is in-

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intoxicated and has been knocking me about. Please come and beat him for me!" I did not like this request, but went in with her to have a look at him. It was indeeed true that he was drunk, and when I told him I had been requested by his beloved wife to flog him for knocking her about, he seemed to think that I ought to do so. Indeed, he began to prepare himself by offering me his back. Seeing this, his spouse exclaimed quickly, "Don't whip him, poor fellow! Of course he may get drunk sometimes, and, after all, he has a perfect right to flog me when he feels like it. Am I not his wife?" And so the matter closed. This is just one sample of my journeyings among the Ainu half a century ago.

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Now when the flight of the lovers became known, Wenku of the withered arm and Ara-shik of the weak eye raged like demons and vowed dire vengeance. Cunning as an evil, bewitching fox, Wenku called in the shamans and asked them to divine the whereabouts of the couple. Thus did they think to gain knowledge of them and so pursue and find them. But neither by their séances nor divinations could they prevail. The secret was well kept, for the guardian angels of Kutri and Yai-mah were too mighty for them and hid them from view. So after a time they ceased their incantations and let them go. It is true they nearly succeeded, for the two dogs showed much uneasiness and distress for a day or two. They felt the influence of the shamans. But soon they quieted down again and peace reigned around. Yet the enemy would not rest. Their anger burned like fire. The rage of Wenku resembled that of a big wounded she-bear just robbed of her cubs; his fury was like a mighty torrent rushing madly down a narrow gully, or like a roaring wind tearing over the high mountain ranges. Vengeance he would have, said he, even though it cost him his life. So mad, so jealous was he.

Now Wenku had two male friends who were his relations, and they were evil like himself. These, together with Ara-shik, the woman of the one weak eye, conspired together to find out and follow up the tracks of the pair to the very end, and there slay Kutri and bring back Yai-mah to her village. Here Wenku swore to marry her before them all, according to the promise made for him and her during their childhood. Out of a new-born hatred, Ara-shik agreed to the murder of her affianced Kutri. To such lengths did her jealousy carry her. They set out on their quest, and after three months' continual searching discovered their retreat. Oh, the fiends! They carefully hid themselves in the undergrowth by the glade and watched,

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waiting for an opportunity to accomplish their wicked end. The two faithful dogs scented danger and gave warning to their master and mistress. They kept close watch over them night and day. Thenceforth neither Kutri nor Yai-mah ever wandered far from the lake. Instead of wood, they burned dried grass and rushes for cooking their food. There was no need for them to go many yards from their tiny house, for at their very door they were able to catch all the trout they needed for themselves and their dogs. Moreover, deer could be shot at any time from their window, and the lake water was good for drinking purposes. So, too, there were plenty of tubers close to their walls. It was a lovely and ideal spot. They felt secure at home, for the enemy could not approach because of the dogs. Wenku and his companions were all great skulking cowards, while Kutri was brave as a bear and a fine shot with his bow. All knew that he never missed his mark. Yet their danger was very great. Several times did the fiends attempt to approach the lodge, but the brave dogs never once allowed them to come within bowshot of the place.

Meanwhile Wenku and his friends were all well hidden, waiting for a chance to wreak vengeance. One day Kutri wandered, quite unarmed, nearer to the forest than usual. He was thinking deeply and did not notice that he had gone so far from his home, and the dogs gave no warning. Then it was that one of the wicked men shot a poisoned arrow at him which struck him just above his shoulder. In haste he returned to his hut and told Yai-mah what had happened. Thereupon she fell upon his neck with tears in her eyes and a great catching of her breath. She also had a big lump in her throat. Bravely did she, at the bidding of her husband, draw her knife—the very knife he had given her when they first met—from its sheath, so beautifully carved by Kutri, and at his command cut

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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539 out the poisoned arrow head, and then with wonderful
331 daring apply her lips to the wound and endeavour to
578 suck out the poison. These were brave deeds indeed, but, alas, all was in vain. Soon he died. From Yai-mah's very arms did his soul depart to the other world.

When Yai-mah saw that the spirit of her beloved husband had taken its departure to the other world she reverently arranged the body by the hearth. She placed some food and a cup of water near it. She then quickly washed her face, smoothed her hair, donned her best garments, put her earrings in her ears, fixed on her necklace and beads, and placed the little knife Kutri had given her in her bosom. She then knelt down by the side of the corpse and addressed it thus:

[762] "We were very happy here, you and I, in our love. But the time was all too short. The wicked enemy soon came here and by great foxy cunning and fiendish strategy succeeded in sending your soul away. He has caused you to depart from your handsome body and you are now a living spirit in the other world. You have been ever true to me, as I to you. I will come and be with you in that better world to which you have gone, where we shall be happy for evermore. Yea, where we shall never more be parted. Lo, I come! I come!" Having so said, Yai-mah immediately swallowed a big dose of Kutri's poison, made of aconite, lay down by his side and soon went away to be with him. Theirs was a true love, unswerving to the end. Their devotion in life and in death was wonderful!

When Wenku and his companions entered the hut a little later, they found the two stretched out dead side by side, by the hearth. One of Yai-mah's arms was resting over poor Kutri's wounded neck. It was a truly pathetic sight. But that wicked demon man, Wenku and his companions in evil were very much

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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angered by the sight. There was no pity in their hearts. Wenku in his rage gave a fierce kick to Yaimah's side, when, lo, the poisoned arrow-head she had drawn from his stricken neck, and which she had cast upon the floor, stuck into his foot. He did not at first notice what it was, for his fit of passion had partially numbed his senses. Soon a tingling sensation was felt by him, and then pain like burning. He looked down and found the arrow-head sticking into his foot. He began to fear, and all worked to save him. But he quickly died, so that his fiendlike spirit went off with a roar to Gehenna. The groan he gave when he died was like that of a mighty dying bear in his death struggles. Long did it echo among the hills.

Ara-shik, the weak-eyed woman, then suggested that the hut be burnt down as it stood, to destroy the dead bodies completely. Her male companions agreed at once and did so. All was entirely consumed. But what of the dogs? They were nowhere to be seen. They had escaped. Having burnt all up, Ara-shik and her friends set off towards their distant homes. They had not gone far, however, before those two faithful dogs, which had been lying in wait for them, pounced out from behind a tree and severely bit them about the legs and arms. Soon the wounds began to swell and become inflamed. They burned like fire so that they could hardly walk. A fever began to consume their whole bodies. Day after day as they struggled on they got worse and worse and quarrelled with one another. They snarled, and scratched, and even began to bite one another. Long before they could reach their homes they died in agonies, foaming at the mouth and barking like dogs. They had been visited by "dog-punishment." They went off one after the other to Gehenna, whining like curs. There they must abide with the demons for ever and ever, in raging jealousy and madness. Their bodies were left to the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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foxes and to rot in the forest, for there was no one to bury them. But in the place of the dead they will always see, far away, Kutri and Yai-mah living in joy and peace, and this will add greatly to their punishment.

When all was over the two faithful dogs returned to their old homes, and thus did the people learn that Kutri and Yai-mah were no more, and that their enemies had met with the punishment they deserved.

THE END

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6 2

cherish more than personal ornaments, and this is, of course, even truer of women than of men. What strikes a stranger when looking at an Ainu for the first time, is, as I have already said, the size of their metal earrings and heavy glass necklaces. As the Ainu cannot work in metals or make glass, these ornaments have been purchased from Japanese, Chinese, and Corean adventurers, and many costly skins of bears, foxes, wolves, or seals are gaily bartered for a few beads, worth next to nothing. The Ainu is fond of metals, but he does not know the difference between one and the other. All that glitters is gold for him; and if it is not gold then it must be silver. Therefore some Ainu are known to have invested all their fortune of valuable furs for a pair of brass earrings, and, what is more, they have never grudged the bargain! Previous to the importation of these worthless articles their ornaments were made of wood, bone, and shells, of which "survivals" are still to be seen with the Ainu of the Upper Tokachi.

The large circular earrings are much prized: men and women alike wear them. Many men, however, do not wear these metal earrings, but prefer instead a long strip of red or black cloth, or skin.

The lobes of the ears are frequently torn down by wearing these heavy earrings from early childhood, and they know not how to mend them by sewing them. Another hole is sometimes bored in the upper and sound part.

Ainu women of civilised districts occasionally wear metal finger-rings, but these are of course of foreign make, and imported.

Ainu *menokos* (girls) seem to have no partiality for bracelets or amulets, but necklaces are the dream of their life. The delight of an Ainu woman in a new necklace is in proportion to the size and number of the beads. A woman who possesses one of extra large beads is envied by all her less fortunate neighbours; and she who has several strings is at once admired and hated by all the womankind of the village. For, indeed, Ainu women are "human" enough to know how to hate each other! The beads which most take their fancy are the blue, black, white, or metal ones. The larger beads in the necklace are in front; and the rough wooden

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXIX.

Marital Relations, and Causes that Limit Population.

THE laws of marriage in the Ainu country are not very stringent; in fact, there are no laws. If a young man takes a fancy to a pretty hairy maid, and the maid reciprocates his affections, all they have to do is to go and live together, and there is no Mrs. Grundy to be scandalised at the want of closer forms and ceremonies. There is no function to celebrate the occasion; there are no wedding presents, no bridesmaids, no officiating clergyman, and no old slipper flung after the happy pair as soon as the knot is tied. The bridegroom either goes to live in his bride's hut, or, if he does not care for his mother-in-law, he will bring his lady-love to his own father's hut. Usually, however, the two, especially if their respective families are large, prefer to build a hut of their own. The honeymoon is spent in house-building, and while the bride carries the loads of timber and long reeds, the bridegroom accomplishes the more difficult task of putting them together as well as he can for future shelter. All goes well with the happy couple until the roof has to be lifted up bodily and perched on the forked poles, during which process "family rows" generally begin. But they do not last long, and when the house is finished, though not decorated, home peace reigns within, and the bridegroom, as we have already seen, proceeds to ornament his chief treasure—his wife—with tattoos on her arms. This idyllic state of things is not specially permanent, for soon after this first marriage the Ainu feels that he would like another wife, and, without thinking twice about it, he

1: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1954 RR1 Siberia
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groups of aborigines. These included over 300 Tunguz, over 100 Nivkhi* and over 1,500 Ainu. Several hundred Ainu also came under Soviet rule through the annexation of the Kurile Islands. The Soviet Government has tried to strengthen its case for the undivided possession of Sakhalin by asserting that only the Russians were able to establish correct relations with the Ainu, while the Japanese oppressed them. The propagandists of the Soviet régime have even alleged that the Czarist Admiral Nevelskoy, who established Russian rule over Sakhalin, did so with the express purpose 'of defending the Ainu against the acts of violence of foreigners'. The Ainu, the propagandists affirm, gave enthusiastic support to the Russians when they landed in Sakhalin in 1853.[44]

Zadornov, a Soviet writer of historical fiction on the Far East, tries to show that the Ainu are almost fanatically pro-Russian. He asserts in his novel *Distant Country* that the Ainu of Southern Sakhalin looked forward eagerly, throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, to the arrival of the Russian liberators. 'We have been waiting for them for many years, we have been waiting for the time when it will be possible to kill the Japanese', Zadornov's Ainu said.[45]

In reality the Ainu of Southern Sakhalin did not seem to be very keen on killing the Japanese or driving them away. In 1875, when the Russian sovereignty over Southern Sakhalin became final, and when the Japanese formally renounced their rights on the island, 800 Sakhalin Ainu left for Hokkaido. They did not return until 1905, after the re-annexation of Karafuto by Japan. For a long time there was a considerable cleavage between these Ainu re-immigrants and their less advanced former fellow-tribesmen, who had never been away from their home island. This cleavage did not disappear until 1933, when all Ainu were granted Japanese citizenship. Originally the Japanese authorities on Karafuto had put five schools at the disposal of the Ainu minority, but when all members of this minority became full Japanese citizens, these schools were abolished, and the Ainu children transferred to Japanese schools.[46]

Since 1945 the Ainu have frequently been mentioned by Soviet propaganda, and their case has become typical of the hypocrisy of Soviet nationalities policy. While several hundred thousand Japanese were expelled from the new Soviet territories, the Ainu were proclaimed 'equal members of the family of Soviet peoples', and at once granted the right to participate in the elections to the Soviet Parliament.[47] Soviet scholars immediately started to study the interesting Ainu people, and the Soviet Academy of Sciences even set up a special branch in Southern

* Under Japanese rule the Tunguz and Nivkhi lived in a native reserve near the town of Shikuka (Poronaysk). Their administrative head was the Karafuto 'reindeer-king', a Yakut, who, with his family, had fled from Soviet territory.